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mation *being committed*. Those who love life glory in the constructiv forces that hav long been at work in English, but littl grammarians who hav no conception of creativ linguistic instinct and see in all change a corruption hav always raised their voices against these beneficent forces and ar stil crying out against the split infinitiv and similar creations, but the deep-seated linguistic processes go quietly on establishing themselves in those countless minds that operate not by artificial regulations but in accordance with simpl natural laws.

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## PROSE FICTION IN ENGLAND BEFORE RICHARDSON

*A List of English Tales and Prose Romances printed before 1740*, by ARUNDELL ESDAILE. London, Printed for the Bibliographical Society, 1912. xxxv + 329 pp.

Students of sixteenth and seventeenth century English literature are in debt to the Bibliographical Society for not a few valuable tools of research. One has only to recall Mr. Greg's lists of plays and masques,<sup>1</sup> the Society's finding-lists of early printed books,<sup>2</sup> and Mr. Duff's, Mr. McKerrow's and Mr. Plomer's dictionaries of printers and booksellers,<sup>3</sup> to realize some of the services which this very active group of scholars has performed, not merely for bibliography in the narrower sense, but for literary history as

well. And now Mr. Esdaile has given us what will doubtless prove one of the most useful, because one of the most needed, of all the Society's publications—a catalogue of the works of prose fiction printed in England before 1740.

His conception of his task was a commendably ambitious one. He proposed to include in his list not only all early English tales and romances, but also all known and discoverable editions of each one of them. Such an ideal necessarily involved him in prolonged research among the treasures of the great English public libraries—the Museum, the Bodleian, the University Library, Cambridge—as well as of many catalogued and accessible private libraries, such as the Bridgwater and the Huth collections. But he also had recourse for information regarding books no longer extant, not only to such obvious sources as the *Stationers' Registers* and the *Term Catalogues*, but also to a group of documents much less frequently utilized than they—the advertisements of seventeenth century publishers.<sup>4</sup> It is to be regretted

<sup>4</sup> He has not, however, extracted from them all the substance which they contain. The following list of "addenda" is based in large part, though not exclusively, upon publishers' advertisements not used, or incompletely used, by Mr. Esdaile: p. 17, *The Famous History of the Learned Fryer Bacon*, advertised by J. Deacon in *The Gallant History of Bevis of Southampton* (B.M., 837. e. 4); p. 39, *The History of the Gentle-Craft*, advertised by W. Thackeray in *The Famous and Renowned History of Sir Bevis of Southampton*, 1689 (B.M., 1077. g. 35/3); p. 40, *The Shoee-makers Glory*, advertised by Sarah Bates in *Guy of Warwick* (B.M., 12403. d. 1); p. 42, *Jack of Newbery*, advertised by W. Thackeray in *The Famous and Renowned History of Sir Bevis of Southampton*, 1689; p. 46, *The History of Dr. Faustus*, advertised by J. Deacon in *The Gallant History of Bevis of Southampton*; p. 49, *Montillion*, a copy in the stock of John Foster, a York bookseller, 1616 (Davies, *A Memoir of the York Press*, p. 363); p. 51, *Ornatus and Artesia*, advertised by J. Deacon and W. Thackeray in *The Famous and Renowned History of Sir Bevis of Southampton*, 1689; p. 61, *Gesta Romanorum*, advertised by G. Conyers in *Dorastus and Faunia*, 1688 (B.M., 12403. aa. 22); p. 83, *The History of the Seven Champions*, advertised by J. Deacon in *The Famous and Renowned History of Sir Bevis of Southampton*, 1689; *ibid.*, *Seven Champions*, advertised by Woodgate and Brooks in *The Unfortunate Lovers* (B.M., 12410. aa.

<sup>1</sup> *A List of English Plays written before 1643 and printed before 1700*. London, 1900; *A List of Masques, Pageants, &c.* London, 1902.

<sup>2</sup> *Hand-lists of English Printers, 1501-1556*. London, 1895-1905.

<sup>3</sup> *A Century of the English Book-trade . . . 1457 to . . . 1557*. By E. Gordon Duff. London, 1905; *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland . . . , 1557-1640*. General editor: R. B. McKerrow. London, 1910; *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1641 to 1667*. By Henry R. Plomer. London, 1907.

that he did not append to his bibliography proper, for the benefit of later searchers in the same or an adjoining field, a list of these and other sources used.

The results of his researches occupy a book of 329 large pages, and amount to upwards of twenty-five hundred entries. The form adopted for the entries is that used by Mr. Greg in his *List of English Plays*: an abbreviated title and imprint, with a reference to the whereabouts of a copy, or, if no extant copy is known, to some source of information attesting the book's present or past existence. The list as a whole is divided into two parts, the first containing all works which appeared up to the outbreak of the Civil War in 1642, the second containing all those which were first printed between 1643 and 1740; within these parts the arrangement of titles is alphabetical. "This plan has been adopted," Mr. Esdaile explains, "primarily in order that Part I may fall into line with the Lists of English Plays and Translations from the Classics already issued by the Society; and secondarily in the hope that the division of the mass of material may sensibly diminish the incongruous juxtapositions inevitable in any author-catalogue, and may thus bring into light the historical perspective, which is still to a great extent, and would otherwise have been

14); p. 85, *Tom a Lincoln*, advertised by W. Thackeray in *The Famous and Renowned History of Sir Bevis of Southampton*, 1689; p. 101, *Long Meg of Westminster*, advertised by G. Conyers in *Dorastus and Fawnia*, 1688; p. 117, *The History of Reynard the Fox. In Three Parts*, advertised by G. Conyers in *The Famous History of Guy Earl of Warwick* (B.M., G. 18792/1); *ibid.*, *Reynard the Fox*, advertised by Woodgate and Brooks in *The Unfortunate Lovers*; p. 124, *The Seven Wise Masters. E. Crouch for J. Wright*. 1673 (see *Harvard Catalogue of Chapbooks*, No. 556); p. 125, *Wisdoms Cabinet opened*; or, *The Seven Wise Masters of Rome*, advertised by J. Deacon in *The Famous and Renowned History of Sir Bevis of Southampton*, 1689; *ibid.*, *The History of the Seven Wise Masters*, advertised by Woodgate and Brooks in *The Unfortunate Lovers*; p. 135, *Valentine and Orson*, *ibid.*; p. 199, *Cynthia, a Novel*, *ibid.*; p. 207, *Robinson Crusoe*, *ibid.*; p. 216, *Earl of Essex and Q. Eliz.*, *ibid.*; p. 223, *The French Rogue*, *ibid.*; p. 242, *The English Rogue*, *ibid.*; p. 247, *Robin Hood*, *ibid.*; p. 265, *The Scotch Rogue*, *ibid.*

entirely, obscured by the alphabetical arrangement under the authors' names" (p. ix). Use of the bibliography in general, and in particular the study of undated editions, would have been greatly facilitated by the inclusion of an index of printers and publishers.

To his catalogue of editions, Mr. Esdaile has prefixed an introduction of twenty-three pages, in which he has undertaken to set forth some of the historical conclusions suggested by his material. This is the least interesting or valuable part of his work: it contains few points that may be regarded as new, and its extreme compression makes of it little more than a catalogue, arranged chronologically, of the principal narratives listed in the body of the book.<sup>5</sup>

It was not for the introduction, however,

<sup>5</sup> Nor is it entirely free from misstatements and errors of detail, most of which, however, are easily corrected by reference to the bibliography. Those that follow are perhaps the most important: p. xiii, "two editions of a chapbook abridgement by . . . Shurley, entitled *Britain's Glory*" should read "three editions" (cf. pp. 97-8); *ibid.*, there is no evidence that Wynkyn de Worde printed an edition of *Blanchardine and Eglantine*; Mr. Esdaile himself (p. 23) gives none; p. xiv (this error is repeated in the bibliography, p. 102), the date of the first appearance of More's *Utopia* in Latin was 1516, not 1518; p. xv, *Howleglas* was reprinted three times, not twice, by Copland (see p. 79, and, on the order and date of these editions, Friedrich Brie, *Eulenspiegel in England*, 1903, pp. 6-9); p. xvi, Copland did not "add" the *Historia de duobus amantibus* of Aeneas Silvius "to the national stock;" it had been printed at least twice before him, by Doesborgh and by Kynge (see p. 1); p. xvii, the *Heptameron* was printed in 1597, not 1592; p. xviii, six lines from the bottom, neither *Rosalynde* nor *Pandosto* was reprinted in 1616 or 1617; p. xix, the total number of the editions of *Pandosto*, not merely the number of "its later editions," was twenty-four; p. xxi, bottom of page, Céspedes y Meneses' *Gerardo* and Aleman's *Guzman* both appeared in 1622 (cf. pp. 8 and 35); p. xxix, the source of *Cyrano de Bergerac's Histoire comique des Etats et Empires de la Lune* was Godwin's *Man in the Moon*, not Wilkin's *Discovery of a World in the Moon* (cf. *Anglia*, X, 1888, pp. 418, note 3; 454-6); p. xxx, Defoe's authorship of *The Compleat Mendicant* is no longer accepted by such competent scholars as Aitken and Trent (cf. the latter's bibliography in *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, IX, 1913, p. 467).

that the work was published, but for the bibliography. And of the value of the bibliography one cannot speak with too much emphasis. For the whole period of the sixteenth century it stands by itself as the only tool of the kind in existence. For the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the only work with which it can be fairly compared is Miss Charlotte Morgan's "Chronological List of the Prose Fiction first printed in England between 1600 and 1740," published in her recent book, *The Rise of the Novel of Manners*.<sup>6</sup> And the advantage of such a comparison is entirely with Mr. Esdaile. Thus for the period from 1643 to 1740 Miss Morgan gives 541 titles; Mr. Esdaile, no fewer than 1300.<sup>7</sup> Nor does the inclusion by the latter of reprints as well as novelties wholly account for the difference; of separate books Mr. Esdaile records over a hundred more than his American predecessor. When we add that his work, besides being the more complete, is also the more trustworthy,<sup>8</sup> there can be little doubt as to which one serious students of early English fiction will prefer to use.

The services which Mr. Esdaile's bibliography may be expected to render to English scholarship are of two sorts. In the first place, its

<sup>6</sup>New York, 1911.

<sup>7</sup>This total does not include reprints of works first printed in the period 1475-1642, all of which are listed in Part I.

<sup>8</sup>Errors, indeed, are extremely rare. I have met with none more serious in character than the following. To say (p. 9) that *The treasure of Amadis of Fraunce* is a translation of extracts from *Amadis de Gaule*, gives perhaps a slightly inexact impression: strictly speaking, it is a rendering of *Le Tresor des Amadis*, a compilation of speeches and letters made from the French version of the romance about 1560. Of this the British Museum has three editions printed between 1560 and 1571, none of which, however, corresponds throughout in all respects to the English work. A more important error occurs on p. 130. The Bodleian fragment entitled *Surdylt King of Ireland*, entered here as a separate romance, is in reality a portion of the prose tale of *Ponthus*. See Friedrich Brie's correction (*Archiv*, CXXI, 1908, 129-30) of his own error (*ibid.*, CXVIII, 1907, 325-8). On p. 234, the 1706 edition of *The Noble and Renowned History of Guy Earl of Warwick*, included on the authority of Hazlitt, is probably the same as the preceding entry.

extraordinary completeness, by facilitating the otherwise painful search for editions, will make of it an indispensable tool for all students of particular novels or novelists. Especially useful from this point of view are the pages devoted to the medieval romances, the various Elizabethan novelists, and the little-known fiction of the later seventeenth century; for on all these subjects satisfactory bibliographies have hitherto been lacking. But its usefulness is by no means confined to individual writers and works. In the larger field of the general history of English fiction, it makes possible for the first time the systematic and thoroughgoing application of a new point of view. In the past, the history of literature has been studied almost exclusively from the side of production. Fruitful of sound results as this method has been, we have tended to forget, in our devotion to it, the existence of another and complementary point of view, that of consumption. What literature was *read* in any generation, not merely what was *written*; and of the literature actually read, how much was new and how much consisted of survivals from the past—these questions, if answered at all in our literary histories, are answered in but an incidental and incomplete way. In no work that I can recall do they dictate the fundamental plan and method of treatment. And yet on how many problems of the first importance—including, for instance, that of the diffusion of the Renaissance in England—might not such a method throw a flood of new light! True as this is of the history of literature in general,<sup>9</sup> it is even more true of the history of early English fiction in particular. For of the total body of fiction which circulated in England between the introduction of printing and the appearance of the great eighteenth century novelists, a comparatively small portion was the work of English writers; while not a little of the narrative literature read at any given time consisted of survivals from the more or less distant past. To deal adequately with facts like these—and they

<sup>9</sup>See on this point a suggestive article by Gustave Lanson, "Programme d'Etudes sur l'histoire provinciale de la vie littéraire en France," in *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, 1902-03.

are extremely significant facts—it is obvious that one must assume the point of view, not of the few producers of literature, but of the great mass of consumers who formed the reading-public. That no scholar has ever done this, at least in any comprehensive way, is doubtless owing to the lack of just such a bibliography of editions as Mr. Esdaile has given us. At last, however, this want is happily supplied; and we may express the hope that some one, preferably Mr. Esdaile himself, will give us ere long a history of the *reading*, as well as of the *writing*, of fiction in early modern England. In the meantime, an indication of some of the questions which such a history might well deal with, and on which Mr. Esdaile's present work furnishes new information, may not be out of place.

One of these questions would assuredly concern the fortunes of the large body of native prose fiction produced during the last thirty years of the reign of Elizabeth. Thanks to the pioneer studies of Professor Raleigh and M. Jusserand, and to a host of later monographs and articles, the leading features of this literature are now generally familiar. Many problems, it is true, await solution, particularly on the side of sources and influences; but the main lines of the subject are clear. Within the total body of more than fifty different tales or novels that issued from the presses of London between the appearance of Gascoigne's *Ferdinando Jeronimi* (1572) and the death of the Queen, the leading varieties have been distinguished, and their characteristics studied; and a mass of information has been assembled with regard to their writers—not merely the more prominent, like Lyly, Greene, Lodge, Nash, and Sidney, but also the less known and less important, like Breton, Chettle, Dekker, Deloney, Dickenson, Forde, Gascoigne, Grange, Johnson, Melbancke, Middleton, Munday, and Roberts. But while our knowledge concerning the *production* of Elizabethan fiction is relatively complete, we know next to nothing concerning its *consumption*. By what classes of the public it was read; what part of it remained in circulation after the passing of the generation for which it was written; how long, and in what forms, these

survivals continued to find readers—these questions remain as yet unanswered, or answered only with reference to single authors or works.<sup>10</sup>

The material for their answer, long difficult to collect and still more difficult to verify, is now accessible in the pages of Mr. Esdaile's bibliography. This review is not the place for a full exposition of the facts thus established; but a few remarks, by way of illustration of the uses to which the work lends itself, may perhaps be permitted. To begin with, we may note that the popularity of the chief Elizabethan novelists continued with but a slight abatement between the death of Elizabeth and the Civil War. *Euphues* was reprinted in 1605, 1606, 1607, 1609, 1613, 1617, 1623, 1630, 1631, and 1636; the *Arcadia*, in 1605, 1613, 1621, 1622, 1623 (twice), 1627, 1629, 1633, and 1638;<sup>11</sup> *Pandosto*, in 1607, 1609, 1614, 1619, 1629, 1632, and 1636; and *Rosalynde*, in 1604, 1609, 1612, 1623, 1634, and 1642. These—to judge merely from the number of editions—were the most sought-for; but others lagged not far behind. Of Greene's twenty pieces—"love pamphlets," "conny-catching" exposures, repentances—a round dozen remained in demand almost to the end of the period. The public also continued to buy the trade-novels of Deloney, Johnson, and Valens, and the romances of Forde and Roberts. In short, of the original fifty-odd tales which made up the native production of fiction in the last twenty-five years of the sixteenth century, no fewer than thirty still circulated during the first forty years of the seventeenth.<sup>12</sup> This prosperity, however, was not lasting. The troublous years of war and controversy which followed, from 1642 to

<sup>10</sup> As, for example, in M. Jusserand's charming account of the vogue of the *Arcadia* (*The English Novel in the Time of Shakespeare*, 1899, 260-83).

<sup>11</sup> Not to speak of Beling's *Sixth Book* (1624) and Markham's *The English Arcadia* (1607, 1613), a continuation.

<sup>12</sup> In 1616 the stock of John Foster, a York stationer, contained the following Elizabethan stories: "One Seaven Champions whole," "One Second Part of English Arcadia," "Two Evordamus," "One Cobler of Canterbury," "One Montillion," "Two Dorastus and Favina." See Davies, *A Memoir of the York Press* (1868), 342-71.

1660, witnessed a marked decline in the vogue of the Elizabethan stories. The first of the old favorites to go was *Euphues*; after 1636, it was reprinted no more for near a century. All of Greene except *Pandosto* disappeared at about the same time; and in 1642 the public saw the last of the printed editions of *Rosalynde*. From the years of the war itself no reprints of Elizabethan fiction have survived, probably for the sufficient reason that very few were published.

When shortly before the Restoration the old tales again began to appear, the number of them was much smaller. Popular taste had weeded out all but about fourteen; and of these two disappeared before the early sixties.<sup>13</sup> The remaining dozen had a long life before them. Nearly every year during the second half of the seventeenth century saw an edition of some one of them, and not a few continued to find readers well into the eighteenth. The survivors included samples of nearly all the chief types of Elizabethan fiction: Sidney's *Arcadia*, in as many as five different versions; Greene's *Pandosto*, now known as *Dorastus and Fawnia*;<sup>14</sup> Forde's three imitations of the Spanish "romances of chivalry," *Parismus*, *Ornatus and Artesia*, and *Montelion*; Johnson's *Tom a Lincoln* and *The Seven Champions of Christendom*; and, among the most popular of all, Deloney's stories of tradesman heroes, *The Gentle-Craft*, *Jack of Newbury*, and *Thomas of Reading*.<sup>15</sup> The popularity of Deloney is significant, for it furnishes a hint as to the sort of readers who now cherished the old fiction. But we have still better evidence than this that the survival of interest in the Elizabethan stories was mainly an affair of the lower middle-classes, of

the country people as well as of the tradesfolk whose life and traditions were mirrored in Deloney: the publishers from whose shops the greater part of the reprints issued were essentially popular publishers, not a few of whom, indeed, made a specialty of furnishing "Country Chapmen" with "all sorts of Books and Ballads."<sup>16</sup>

Such is the character of the information regarding the Elizabethan novelists which Mr. Esdaile has assembled for the use of later workers in his bibliography of "Tales and Prose Romances printed before 1740." It would be an easy task to show that a similar wealth of material exists on nearly all the other questions in which a historian of the reading of fiction in England might become interested—on the survival of the medieval romances, the introduction of Renaissance fiction, or the penetration into Restoration England of the contemporary narrative literature of France. But doubtless this one case is sufficient to suggest the real value and importance of Mr. Esdaile's work. Both for the positive data which it makes easily accessible for the first time, and for the numerous special studies which it suggests, it is perhaps the most significant single contribution yet made to the early history of prose fiction in England.

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*Beginners' Book in Norse.* By J. A. HOLVIK.  
Minneapolis, 1910. 284 pp.

The recent growth of the study of Norwegian in our secondary schools, especially in the Middle West, has emphasized the need of

<sup>13</sup> On the other hand, a slight revival of interest in some of the forgotten favorites took place in the early eighteenth century; with the result that there appeared new versions of *George a Greene* (1706; repr. 1715) and of *Euphues* (1716, 1718).

<sup>14</sup> The entry in Foster's inventory (see note 12, above) suggests that it may have been commonly known under this title as early as 1616.

<sup>15</sup> Between 1643 and 1740 Mr. Esdaile records twenty editions of the first, six of the second, and five of the third. And the list is undoubtedly incomplete. See note 4, above.

<sup>16</sup> G. Conyers' announcement in *Dorastus and Fawnia*, 1688 (B.M., 12403. aa. 22). See also the advertisements of J. Deacon and of Woodgate and Brooks as cited in note 4. Another testimony to the popular character of the audience is the appearance, shortly after the middle of the century, of a number of abridgments: *The Seven Champions* in 1679; *Jack of Newbury* in 1684; *Thomas of Reading, Montelion, Ornatus and Artesia*, and *Tom a Lincoln* about the same time; *Parismus* in 1699; and the *Arcadia* in 1701.